

EMBEDDED FRONTING CONSTRUCTIONS IN ICELANDIC

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Asgrimur Angantýsson

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ABSTRACT

In the two papers presented here, I deal with fronting constructions in Icelandic, in particular Subj-Adv-Vfin order (V3) and stylistic fronting (SF) in embedded clauses, and I compare Icelandic fronting with that found in other Scandinavian languages.

The first paper, *Verb-third in Embedded Clauses in Icelandic* (to appear in *Studia Linguistica*), is a survey of the possibilities of having V3 order in Icelandic embedded clauses, namely the order where the finite verb follows a sentential adverb (like negation for instance). It is shown that although this order is possible in most types of embedded clauses in Icelandic, it is severely restricted and heavily marked. It commonly requires an extra stress on the adverb and it is frequently more acceptable if the subject is an unstressed pronoun. The naturalness of the order also depends on the type of embedded clause involved, being most natural in relative clauses and indirect questions introduced by a *wh*-pronoun but least acceptable in *that*-complements. It is argued that the proper analysis of this order in embedded clauses in Icelandic involves exceptional adjunction of the adverb in question to the TP instead of the usual VP-adjunction of such adverbs. Thus it is maintained that the Adv-Vfin order in these clauses is not due to exceptional lack of V-movement in Icelandic but rather to exceptional AdvP-adjunction. In the Scandinavian languages, on the other hand, the V3 order in embedded clauses is argued to be best analyzed as lack of V-movement (lack of V-to-I), as usually assumed. The paper follows the analysis proposed by Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998) in relating this difference between Icelandic and (Mainland) Scandinavian to the presence vs. absence of a split inflectional phrase.

In the second paper, *Stylistic Fronting as Head Movement*, I claim that what has been called Stylistic Fronting in recent approaches (Holmberg 2000, Hrafnbjargarson 2004) is in fact a result of three different processes: (i) head adjunction to the finite

verb, what I call SF, (ii) topicalization of maximal projections and (iii) adjunction of adverbial phrases to TP in a split IP-domain, i.e. the same structure as I propose for embedded V3. SF, in my terms, has no semantic effects but the SF-like elements in the other fronting constructions commonly receive an extra stress. I reject the common assumption that every time some element gets fronted in a clause with a subject gap it must be an instance of SF, and I claim that the bar-level and the discourse function of the moved element is the distinguishing factor between SF and other fronting processes.

Interestingly, the conditions for these processes depend on the type of the embedded clause. SF is most common in relative clauses and adverbial clauses, although it occurs in all types of embedded clauses with a subject gap (cf. Jónsson 1991). Topicalization is most natural in complement clauses but it is difficult or impossible in relative clauses and indirect questions with a *wh*-pronoun (cf. Magnússon 1990). AdvP-adjunction occurs in relative clauses and adverbial clauses and it has striking similarities to the V3 order discussed in the first paper.

Under my analysis, both SF and V3-like AdvP-adjunction depend on V-to-I movement in Icelandic (embedded topicalization only does so to a certain extent). I argue that the different word order conditions within different types of embedded clauses, unaccounted for in earlier analyses, is due to the presence or absence of a trace in Spec-AgrSP and different degrees of V-to-I movement (V-to-T vs. V-to-AgrS).

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Ásgrímur Angantýsson was born in Akureyri, Iceland. He graduated from Akureyri Junior College (Menntaskólinn á Akureyri) in 1992 and received a B.A. in Icelandic from the University of Iceland in 1998, a diploma in pedagogy from the University of Akureyri in 2000, and an M.A. in Icelandic Linguistics from the University of Iceland in 2003. He taught at a “compulsory school” from 1992 to 1995, was a school principal from 1998 to 2001, and taught Icelandic language and literature at Hamrahlíd Junior College (Menntaskólinn við Hamrahlíð) from 2002 to 2005. He was a part-time lecturer at the Iceland University of Education in 2002 and at the University of Iceland in 2004. He was a teaching assistant at the University of Iceland from 1997 to 1998 and from 2001 to 2002, and a research assistant in the summers of 1997, 1998, and 2001 to 2005. In the fall of 2005 he began attending Cornell, where he taught Old Norse and was admitted to the Ph.D. program in the Field of Linguistics in 2006. In 2007 he was awarded a two-year Ph.D. fellowship in Icelandic Linguistics at the University of Iceland by the University Fund (Háskólasjóður) of Eimskipafélag Íslands.

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Some of the material of this work has been presented at conferences in Iceland and Finland, as well as in the Cornell Linguistics Circle. I wish to thank the audiences at these meetings for helpful comments and discussion, in particular Thórhallur Eythórsson, Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson and Effi Georgala. Special thanks to Masayuki Gibson and Philip Robinson for proofreading.

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CHAPTER 1

VERB-THIRD IN EMBEDDED CLAUSES IN ICELANDIC*

1.1 Introduction

It is a well known fact that in V2-languages the finite verb must precede adverbs like the negation in main clauses:¹

(1) a. Jón **hefur ekki** séð myndina (Icel.)

‘John has not seen the movie’

b. *Jón **ekki hefur** séð myndina (Icel.)

‘John not has seen the movie’

c. Jon har **inte sett** filmen (Swed.)

‘John has not seen the movie’

d. *Jon **inte** har **sett** filmen (Swed.)

‘John has seen not the movie’

* This paper is to appear in *Studia Linguistica* (volume 61, issue 3).

¹ The V3 order that I am presenting here is from three different sources. Firstly, I have made up my own examples, as a native speaker of Icelandic, on which the discussion is mostly built. Since the grammaticality is rather variable, in my view, the following detailed diacritics are used:

- (i) a. No diacritic = completely natural (although another word order might be more straightforward)
- b. ? = a little bit odd
- c. ?? = very strange
- d. ?* = bad but maybe not completely out
- e. * = ungrammatical

Secondly, I have collected several examples from the Internet (via a Google search) and I list some of them in footnotes to show that this word order is not only in my idiolect. Finally, judgments of this word order were collected in connection with the Syntactic Variation Project in Iceland (see Thráinsson et al. 2005). The results from the pilot study confirm that the V3 phenomenon is very marked and needs specific prosodic adjustments to be accepted but there was no evidence for age-related, areal or social variation with respect to this word order.

Another widely discussed matter in the literature is the different word order in embedded clauses in Icelandic on the one hand and the Mainland Scandinavian languages on the other hand:

(2) a. Ég spurði hvort Jón **hefði ekki** séð myndina (Icel.)

‘I asked if John had not seen the movie’

b. ?*Ég spurði hvort Jón **ekki hefði** séð myndina (Icel.)

‘I asked if John not had seen the movie’

c. *Jag frågade om Jon **hade inte** sett filmen (Swed.)

‘I asked if John had not seen the movie’

d. Jag frågade om Jon **inte hade** sett filmen (Swed.)

‘I asked if John not had seen the movie’

This syntactic difference has frequently been connected with the different degrees of verb inflection in these languages and it is a common assumption that the verb moves into IP/TP in Icelandic in order to check morphological features but stays in situ in the VP in the Mainland Scandinavian languages (see Rohrbacher 1995:113-127 and references there).²

Even though the finite verb usually precedes pre-VP adverbs in Icelandic the adverb can precede the verb in some embedded clauses:

² Embedded V2-clauses in Icelandic have also been viewed as CPs (cf. Schwartz and Vikner 1996) but, as far as I can see, there are no independent arguments for assuming much more frequent CP-recursion in Icelandic than the other Scandinavian languages (unless it is related to something else). Even though embedded topicalization is more common in Icelandic than the Mainland Scandinavian languages it is blocked in some cases, as shown by Magnússon (1990), and V2 is dominant in those cases nevertheless. However, I consider matrix V2 in Icelandic to be V-C movement, as is standardly assumed.

- (3) a. Það er ein íslensk mynd sem Haraldur **hefur ekki** séð
 ‘There is one Icelandic movie that Harold has not seen’
 b. Það er ein íslensk mynd sem Haraldur **ekki hefur** séð
 ‘There is one Icelandic movie that Harold not has seen’
 c. Það er ein íslensk mynd sem hann **ekki hefur** séð
 ‘There is one Icelandic movie that he not has seen’
- (4) a. Ég veit hvaða mynd Haraldur **hefur ekki** séð
 ‘I know what movie Harold has not seen’
 b. Ég veit hvaða mynd Haraldur **ekki hefur** séð
 ‘I know what movie Harold not has seen’
 c. Ég veit hvaða mynd hann **ekki hefur** séð
 ‘I know what movie he not has seen’

In (3-4) the a-clauses are definitely unmarked but it is worthy of attention that the V3 order is also possible. Examples (3b) and (4b), with a proper noun in the subject position, are slightly marked as opposed to (3c) and (4c) which have unstressed pronouns as subjects, but both the b-sentences and the c-sentences sound fine to me.³ These facts raise several questions:

³ In all the V3 clauses it seems more natural to put extra stress on the adverb. I am also assuming that the relativized object receives stress in examples like (3c):

- (i) Það er (bara) EIN íslensk mynd sem hann EKKI hefur séð
 There is (only) ONE Icelandic movie that he NOT has seen

Background: *Haraldur* has seen (just about) every movie. If *Haraldur* is already part of the given information it is most felicitous to refer to him with a pronoun in the presence of other focused information.

- (5) a. To what extent is this V3 variation acceptable in Icelandic and how is it related to other constructions in Icelandic and other Germanic languages?
- b. How can this phenomenon be handled in terms of V-to-I movement? Is it possible that the verb does not move in these cases?
- c. Is there any difference between this word order variant in Icelandic and the corresponding order in the Mainland Scandinavian languages?
- d. What kind of a syntactic structure can be assumed in order to account for this word order?

I shall attempt to answer these questions in this paper. In the second section I distinguish this word order from other V3 phenomena in Icelandic and give an overview of the varying levels of acceptability of this so-called ‘Scandinavian order’ in different types of embedded clauses. It is shown that, overall, this word order is easier to get when the subject is an unstressed pronoun rather than a full NP. It is most natural in relative clauses and indirect questions introduced by a *wh*-pronoun and least acceptable in *that*-complements. In the third section I discuss some possible analyses of this phenomenon and provide arguments for a split IP analysis. Section 1.4 contains concluding remarks.

1.2 V3 in Icelandic embedded clauses

1.2.1 Adverbs and V3

A priori one might expect that all embedded clauses with an adverb between the subject and the finite verb were examples of ‘Mainland Scandinavian word order’, but that is not correct; in this section I will define the exact type of adverb with which I am concerned.

The relevant adverbs in my discussion are **pre-VP adverbs**, i.e. adverbs that precede the VP and cannot follow it when there is an auxiliary in the clause. The temporal adverbs *aftur* ‘again’ and *aldrei* ‘never’ behave differently in this respect:

- (6) a. María hafði **aftur** séð Jón
‘Mary had again seen John’
b. María hafði **aldrei** séð Jón
‘Mary had never seen John’
c. María hafði séð Jón **aftur**
‘Mary had seen John again’
d. *María hafði séð Jón **aldrei**
‘Mary had seen John never’

The examples in (6) show that both the adverbs can precede the main verb but only *aftur* can follow it. This also holds for embedded clauses, both in Icelandic and Danish for instance:⁴

⁴ One of the reviewers points out that the same pattern is found in English:

- (i) a. Mary had **again** seen John
b. Mary had seen John **again**
c. Mary had **never** seen John
d. *Mary had seen John **never**

- (7) a. María spurði hvort þú hefðir séð Jón **aftur**
 b. Maria spurgte om du havde set Jens **igen**
 ‘Mary asked if you had seen John again’
 c. *María spurði hvort þú hefðir séð Jón **aldrei**
 d. *Maria spurgte om du havde set Jens **aldrig**
 ‘Mary asked if you had seen John never’

Thus, central adverbs like *aldrei/aldrig* mark the VP boundary more reliably than adverbs like *aftur/igen*.

It is important to distinguish between pre-VP adverbs that cannot precede a finite verb in main clauses and adverbs (or prepositional phrases) that can intervene between the subject and the finite verb both in main clauses and subordinate clauses.⁵ In (8) there are examples of that type of V3 (cf. Maling 1980, Sigurðsson 1986, Thráinsson 1986 and Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990):

- (8) a. Hann **bara/einfaldlega/náttúrlega** getur ekki gert þetta
 ‘He just /simply /of course can’t do it’
 b. Ég sagði að hann **bara/einfaldlega/náttúrlega** gæti ekki gert þetta
 ‘I said that he just /simply /of course couldn’t do it’

Pittner (2003) and Jäger and Blutner (2003) thoroughly discuss different adjunction sites of *wieder* ‘again’ in German which has a restitutive reading falling out from the lower adjunction and a repetitive reading from the higher adjunction.

⁵ The latter are presumably ‘speaker-oriented’ adverbs in the sense of (Jackendoff 1972:89) or ‘Higher (Sentence) AdvPs’ in Cinque’s hierarchy (1999:11-13).

The behavior of these adverbs is obviously different from the pre-VP adverbs since they can occur in second position in matrix clauses as well. Of course, this V3-phenomenon needs an explanation but I am not going into that matter here.

My discussion of V3 in embedded clauses will be restricted to clear and plain pre-VP adverbs as the following:

- (9) a. Ég hef **aldrei/stundum /ekki** lesið bókina
 ‘I have never/sometimes/not read the book’
 b. *Ég hef lesið bókina **aldrei/stundum/ekki**
 ‘I have read the book never/sometimes/not’
 c. *Ég **aldrei/stundum/ekki** hef lesið bókina
 ‘I never/sometimes/not have read the book’

In addition to the previously discussed characteristics of these adverbs it can be mentioned that adverbs of this type usually refer to the whole sentence rather than individual words or phrases.⁶

1.2.2 *That*-clauses

Examples (10b) and (11b) show attempts to use the Mainland Scandinavian word order Subject - Pre-VP Adverb - Finite Verb (henceforth **SPV**) in *that*-clauses (the unmarked word-order is shown in the a-examples):

⁶ The natural semantic class of adverbs seems to be the negation plus ‘adverbs of quantification’, i.e. those adverbs relating to the quantification of events (Molly Diesing, p.c.). Those would be ‘Lower (pre-VP) AdvPs’ in Cinque’s terms (1999:4-11). This means that the negation is relatively low in the structure in Icelandic, in contrast to Romance languages (see the extensive discussion on negation in the Germanic and Romance languages in Haegeman 1995, Zanuttini 1997 and Laenzlinger 1998).

- (10) a. Kennarinn segir að Haraldur hafi ekki lesið bókina
 b. ?*Kennarinn segir að **Haraldur ekki hafi** lesið bókina
 ‘The teacher says that Harold not has read the book’
- (11) a. Kennarinn segir að hann hafi ekki lesið bókina
 b. ?Kennarinn segir að **hann ekki hafi** lesið bókina
 ‘The teacher says that he not has read the book’

With a proper noun in the subject position the order is very bad. When the subject is a pronoun it is better but still not good.⁷ It should be mentioned in this context that *that*-clauses in the Scandinavian Mainland Languages do allow V2 order to a certain extent (cf. Vikner 1995:70-71 and Thráinsson 2001).⁸

1.2.3 Indirect questions

Indirect questions are embedded under the complementizer *hvort* ‘whether’, a question adverb or a question pronoun. The acceptability of the SPV-order varies in clauses of this type:

⁷ However, examples of SPV can be found in *that*-clauses:

- (i) a. Mig undrar svolítið að **hann ekki hafi** séð neitt um hana
 (=þingslályktunartillöguna)
 Me surprises a little bit that he not has seen anything about her (= the parliamentary resolutions)
 ‘It surprises me a little bit that he has not seen anything about it’
 (<http://www.althingi.is/skodaliid.php?lthing=132&lidur=2005-11-04T12:34:24>)
- b. ...yrði að láta sér lynda að **hann ekki fékk** að kaupa tyggjó
 ...would have to accept that he not was allowed to buy chewing gum
 ‘would have to accept that he was not allowed to buy chewing gum’
 (<http://www.gunnbjorg.net/2005/09/28/23.27.50>)

These are acceptable but still heavily marked and, apparently, very rare. The fact that the matrix verbs have ‘more content’ than verbs like ‘say’ might somehow clarify the context and make it easier to use the marked word order.

⁸ Primarily in contexts where “embedded main clauses” occur. These may in fact be cases of CP-recursion.

- (12) a. Kennarinn spurði hvort Haraldur hefði ekki lesið bókina
 b. ?*Kennarinn spurði hvort Haraldur **ekki hefði** lesið bókina
 ‘The teacher asked whether Harold not had read the book’
 c. Kennarinn spurði hvort hann hefði ekki lesið bókina
 d. ?Kennarinn spurði hvort **hann ekki hefði** lesið bókina
 ‘The teacher asked whether he not had read the book’
- (13) a. Kennarinn spurði hvers vegna Haraldur hefði ekki lesið bókina
 b. ??Kennarinn spurði hvers vegna **Haraldur ekki hefði** lesið bókina
 ‘The teacher asked why Harold not had read the book’
 c. Kennarinn spurði hvers vegna hann hefði ekki lesið bókina
 d. ?Kennarinn spurði hvers vegna **hann ekki hefði** lesið bókina
 ‘The teacher asked why he not had read the book’
- (14) a. Kennarinn spurði hverjum Haraldur hefði ekki getað gefið þessa bók
 b. Kennarinn spurði hverjum **Haraldur ekki hefði** getað gefið þessa bók
 ‘The teacher asked to whom Harold not had could given the book’
 c. Kennarinn spurði hverjum hann hefði ekki getað gefið þessa bók
 d. Kennarinn spurði hverjum **hann ekki hefði** getað gefið þessa bók
 ‘The teacher asked to whom he not had could given the book’

Here, the content of the embedding CP matters and so does the subject in question. The order is rather difficult to get in embedded clauses with *hvort* and perhaps impossible if the subject is a proper noun or a full noun phrase (12b). It is better in embedded clauses with a *wh*-question word, specially if the subject is a pronoun (13d). If the embedded clause is conjoined with a *wh*-pronoun it is completely acceptable, even with a proper noun in the subject position (14b).⁹

⁹ The following examples, with *hvort* ‘whether’ and *hvenær* ‘when’, were found on the Internet:

1.2.4 Relative clauses

In (15-17) there are examples of SPV in relative clauses; (15) shows a relative clause modifying an object, (16) shows a relative clause modifying a predicate nominal, and (17) shows AP-related relative clauses:¹⁰

- (15) a. Ég veit um eina Íslendingasögu sem Haraldur hefur ekki lesið
b. Ég veit um eina Íslendingasögu sem **Haraldur ekki hefur** lesið
‘I know about one Icelandic saga which Harold not has read’
- (16) a. Það er ein bók þarna sem Haraldur hefur ekki lesið
b. Það er ein bók þarna sem **Haraldur ekki hefur** lesið
‘There is one book there that Harold not has read’
- (17) a. Kennarinn leit inn í herbergið þar sem Haraldur hafði ekki lesið eina einustu bók

-
- (i) a. (spurði) hvort **hann ekki vildi** spila undir fjöldasöng
‘(asked) whether he not wanted play under groupsinging’
(<http://www.ekg.is/blogg/nr/561>)
b. (ákvarða) hvenær hann kemur inn og hvenær **hann ekki kemur** inn
‘(decide) when he comes in and when he not comes in’
(<http://www.althingi.is/skodalid.php?lthing=132&lidur=2005-10-20T15:00:56>)

In the b-sentence there is a clear contrast between ‘he comes’ and ‘he not comes’ and the SPV order is acceptable (again the context makes it more natural). The a-sentence has certain properties that are more characteristic for direct questions like the following:

- (ii) Viltu ekki spila undir fjöldasöng?
want-you not play under groupsinging?
‘Do you (maybe) wanna play under groupsinging?’

Here, the negation has a ‘suggestive’ reading, and as such it needs to be destressed; the same holds for (ia).

¹⁰ Relative clauses can also modify subjects but then there is no overt subject in the relative clause itself. A central pre-VP adverb can easily occur before the finite verb in such clauses but that would be stylistic fronting in my view (see Maling 1980, Jónsson 1991, Holmberg 2000, Hrafnbjargarson 2004 and Thráinsson 2006:281-289 and references there).

- b. ?Kennarinn leit inn í herbergið þar sem **Haraldur ekki hafði** lesið eina
 ‘The teacher looked into the room where Harold not had read one
 einustu bók
 single book’
- c. Haraldur var látinn í c-bekkinn þangað sem hann vildi ekki fara
- d. Haraldur var látinn í c-bekkinn þangað sem **hann ekki vildi** fara
 ‘Harold was obliged to attend the c-class where to he not wanted to go’

The order works very well in NP-related relative clauses but not perfectly in AP-related relative clause (17b), unless the subject is a pronoun (17d).¹¹

1.2.5 Adverbial clauses

Examples of SPV in adverbial clauses conjoined with *að* ‘that’ are shown in (18-19):

¹¹ Google gives a lot of results for strings like *sem hann ekki* ‘that/which/who he not’ accompanied by all different examples of verbs. Such examples are very natural and they do not depend as heavily on context as the SPV did in *that*-clauses, for example:

- (i) a. Kjósandi má ekki haggja neitt við listum **sem hann ekki** kýs
 ‘The voter can not change anything on the lists that he not votes’
 (<http://www.kosning2003.is/FrettirOgTilkynningar/Safn/nr/997>)
- b. ...og seldi það kjöt sem **hann ekki át** sjálfur
 ... ‘and sold the meat that he not ate himself’
 (http://is.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fritz_Haarmann)
- c. taka þátt í samræðu um það sem **hann ekki þekkir**
 take part in a conversation about that that he not knows
 ‘take part in a conversation about something that he doesn’t know’
 (<http://visindavefur.hi.is/svar.asp?id=798>)

In general, it is more difficult to find examples with full NP subjects, but here are two:

- (ii) a. ...að leita svara við einhverju sem **þingmaðurinn ekki vissi**
 ‘to seek for answers to something which the parliament member not knew’
 (<http://www.deiglan.com/index.php?itemid=8066>)
- b. alls konar fyrirbæri... sem **maðurinn ekki fær** af því að hann er ekki í félaginu
 ‘all kinds of things which the man not gets because he is not in the association’
 (<http://www.althingi.is/raeda/131/rad20050217T140315.html>)

These examples are also fine, which indicates that the SPV order does not necessarily require a light subject pronoun in relative clauses.

- (18) a. Kennarinn tók bókina svo að Jón gat ekki lesið hana
 b. ??Kennarinn tók bókina svo að **Jón ekki gat** lesið hana
 ‘The teacher took the book so that John not could read it’
- (19) a. Strákurinn reif buxurnar sínar svo að hann notar þær ekki í bráð
 b. ?Strákurinn reif buxurnar sínar svo að **hann ekki notar** þær í bráð
 ‘The boy tore his trousers so that he not uses it for a moment’

Overall, the order seems rather bad in this type of adverbial clause.

The complementizer *þótt* ‘though’ is very common in Icelandic:

- (20) a. Kennarinn lagði prófið fyrir þótt nemendurnir hefðu ekki lesið bókina
 b. ?Kennarinn lagði prófið fyrir þótt **nemendurnir ekki hefðu** lesið bókina
 ‘The teacher propounded the test though the students not had read the book’
 c. Kennarinn lagði prófið fyrir þótt þau hefðu ekki lesið bókina
 d. Kennarinn lagði prófið fyrir þótt **þau ekki hefðu** lesið bókina
 ‘The teacher propounded the test even though they not had read the book’

The example with the noun in the subject position is a little bit quirky, but when there is a pronoun subject it works fine. The same holds for the complementizers *fyrst* ‘since’, *ef* ‘if’ and *nema* ‘unless’ (cf. Angantýsson 2001).

Finally, there are examples of SPV in temporal clauses:

- (21) a. Jón fer venjulega á fyllerí þegar eiginkonan er ekki heima
 b. ?Jón fer venjulega á fyllerí þegar **eiginkonan hans ekki er** heima
 ‘John usually gets drunk when his wife not is at home’

c. Jón fer venjulega á fyllerí þegar hún er ekki heima

d. Jón fer venjulega á fyllerí þegar **hún ekki er** heima

‘John usually gets drunk when she not is at home’

The type of the subject seems to matter here; (21d) is perfect while (21b) is a little bit peculiar.¹²

1.2.6 Summary and questions

The main results from this section are the following:¹³

(22) a. The SPV order is fine both with an unstressed pronoun and a full NP in the subject position:

- indirect questions with a *wh*-pronoun

- relative clauses modifying an NP

b. SPV is fine if the subject is an unstressed pronoun:

- relative clauses modifying an AP

¹² Here are some examples of SPV in adverbial clauses, all of them with a pronominal subject:

- (i) a. af því að **hann ekki skilur** þær kröfur sem gerðar eru til hans
‘because he not understands the claims that are made to him’
(<http://www.doktor.is/Article.aspx?greinid=1889>)
b. væri sparkað samstundis ef **hann ekki segði** af sér
‘would be fired immediately if he not would quit the job’
(<http://samfylking.simblogg.is/akureyri/>)
c. þótt **þeir ekki hafi** látið prenta slíkt
‘although they not had had printed such’
(<http://www.vegagerdin.is/um-vegagerdina/sagan/sogulegar-upplýsingar/1900/nr/508>)
d. blaðra öllu í okkur eins og t.d. þegar **hann ekki mætir**
‘tell everything to us like for example when he not attends’
(<http://thinkpink.blog.is/blog/thinkpink/>)

¹³ Interestingly, there is a systematic semantic distinction between the sentence groups in (22). In (22a-b) lambda-abstraction occurs, creating ‘open sentences’ (containing a variable), but not in the sentence types in (22c) (Molly Diesing, p.c.).

- indirect questions with a *wh*-adverb
 - some adverbial clauses
- c. SPV is difficult to get both with a full NP and an unstressed pronoun in the subject position:
- *that*-clauses
 - indirect questions with *hvort*
 - some adverbial clauses

These results raise the following questions:

- (23)
- a. How can this type of V3 be explained in a ‘verb movement language’ like Icelandic?
 - b. Why does the subject type matter?
 - c. Why does the acceptability of SPV depend on the type of the embedded clause?

In the next section I will try to answer the first question and also the second question to a certain extent. The third question is more difficult to answer but I will mention some facts that might be relevant.

1.3 V3 and syntactic structure

1.3.1 Theoretical assumptions

I assume that the pre-VP adverb is adjoined to the left of the VP. This is the most frequent assumption in the recent literature on verb movement in the Scandinavian languages (cf. for instance Vikner 1997 and 1995b, Holmberg & Platzack 1995, Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998, Rohrbacher 1999 and Koenenman 2000).¹⁴ Furthermore, I assume that negation behaves like other pre-VP adverbs in this respect and it is not a head of a particular NegP as has been suggested in other contexts (cf. Jónsson 1996:95-99). I will adopt the assumption that AdvPs can only adjoin to maximal projections and not intermediate projections like T' (cf. Chomsky 1986:6 and discussion in Koenenman 2000:32-33).

The different word order in embedded clauses in Icelandic vs. the Mainland Scandinavian languages has been described in terms of 'verb movement' and 'lack of verb movement' and it has been assumed that the movement of the verb is morphologically conditioned (cf. Platzack & Holmberg 1989, Sigurðsson 1989, Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990, Holmberg 1993, Holmberg & Platzack 1995 and Vikner 1997). In such approaches it is frequently assumed that the inflectional head is sometimes 'strong' and sometimes 'weak' with regard to inflectional features and that the relation between verbal inflection and verb movement is direct (see Chomsky 1995, chapter 4). Attempts have been made to define how rich the verbal morphology must be in order to trigger verb movement (cf. Vikner 1997).

Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998) (see also Thráinsson 2003 and 2006) propose the hypothesis that the different word order stems from a different value of the IP-

¹⁴ The details of the internal structure of the VP and projections such as *vP/PrP* and *TrP/VoiceP* are not necessary for my purposes here (see thorough discussion in Bowers 2006). Neither will I go into the details of the internal structure of the CP (see general discussion in Rizzi 1997 and discussion on the Scandinavian languages in Hrafnbjargarson 2004 and Bentzen et al. 2006).

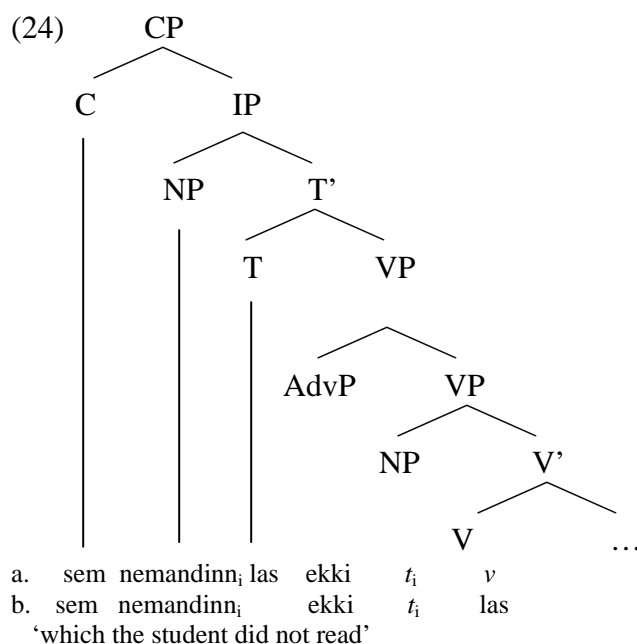
parameter: Some languages have a simple IP and the verb never moves from the VP but other languages have a complex IP and the verb always moves to some head position within the IP in order to check inflectional features. According to these ideas, children acquiring the language will receive both morphological and syntactic clues to the structure of the IP, i.e. if it is simple or complex, and the relation between verb movement and verbal inflection is not assumed to be direct. In Icelandic the inflectional morphology sets the parameter unambiguously, but in languages like Faroese, where the inflectional morphology is not sufficient, the child must listen for other clues, such as verb movement and transitive expletive constructions.

1.3.2 Lack of V-to-I movement

To account for the SPV order in Icelandic, it is possible to say that the pre-VP adverb is adjoined to the VP and the verb does not move. This is the most common way to explain the V3 order in the Mainland Scandinavian subordinate clauses. The difference between the unmarked order and SPV in Icelandic, according to this analysis, is shown in (24) (see next page). This approach of course creates problems if the idea of feature checking is taken seriously: If the movement is inflectionally conditioned, why does the verb not need to move? Is the ‘strength’ of the inflectional features different with respect to different types of embedded clauses? How could that be when the verb is inflected in the same way, whether or not it precedes or follows the adverb?

If the difference between the SPV and the unmarked order is supposed to be due to lack of movement, there should be some answers to these questions. Another weakness of this analysis is that it seems to suggest that the marked V3 in Icelandic has the same structure as the unmarked V3 in the Mainland Scandinavian languages.

Finally, this analysis cannot account for the variable distribution of NPs in Icelandic. I will now turn to that matter.



1.3.3 The verb moves but still follows the adverb

The idea of a split IP is originally from Pollock (1989). It has been argued that the IP in Icelandic contains at least two functional heads: On the one hand there is a particular head associated with agreement between the finite verb and the subject (AgrSP) and on the other hand a particular head related to tense inflection (TP) (see Thráinsson 2001). Such an approach makes additional positions for specifiers available which seems to be correct (cf. Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990, Vangsnes 1995 and Thráinsson 2006):

- (25) Ég held...
 ‘I think...’

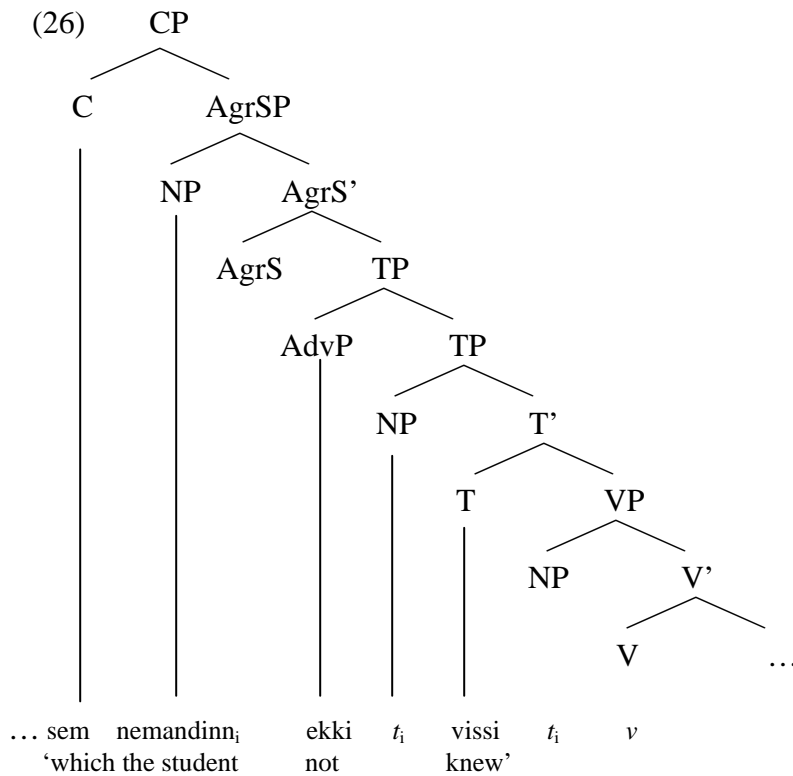
- a. að einhver stúlka hafi [_{VP} lamið gamla manninn]
 that some girl has beaten the old man'
- b. að stúlkan hafi [_{VP} lamið gamla manninn]
 that the girl has beaten the old man'
- c. að það hafi einhver stúlka [_{VP} lamið gamla manninn]
 that there has some girl beaten the old man'
- d. *að það hafi stúlkan [_{VP} lamið gamla manninn]
 that there has the girl beaten the old man'

These examples show that the indefinite subject can occur farther to the right or 'lower' in the clause ((25c)), in front of the VP. Based on such sentences it can be argued that NPs move to different positions depending on their definiteness: First, they always move to SpecTP in order to check case features but only the definite NPs move above SpecTP to SpecAgrSP in order to check an EPP-feature on AgrS. The expletive checks the EPP-feature when the subject is indefinite as in (25c) but this is impossible when the subject is definite as in (25d).¹⁵ The difference between (25a) and (25b) would then be that the verb is located in the TP in the first case but in the AgrSP in the latter. This is parallel to the case of object shift in languages like German and Icelandic where the higher object position is associated with something 'presupposition-like' (cf. Diesing 1992:107-109 for German and Diesing 1997 for Icelandic; see also Chomsky 2001b).

According to these ideas there is a possible additional position for adverb adjunction below Spec AgrSP, i.e. left adjoined to the TP (cf. Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998):¹⁶

¹⁵ I assume that the derivations in (25a) and (25c) are not in competition with one another because they have different numerations (cf. Chomsky 2001a).

¹⁶ Technically, Rizzi's (1997) expanded left periphery could be used to account for the word orders in question but it is not clear, according to this type of approach, why there should be a difference between



According to this analysis the SPV order is due to an exceptional adjunction of the pre-VP adverb.¹⁷ It should be emphasized here that I assume, following Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998), that it is sufficient for the verb to move to the TP in order to check the inflectional features both in the TP and in the AgrSP. The assumption is that all local relations to a head are (potential) checking relations with that head, namely head-specifier, head-complement and head-head (adjoined heads). This means that the verb

Icelandic and the Mainland Scandinavian languages with respect to verb movement in embedded clauses. In my analysis the verbal morphology is a crucial explanatory factor.

¹⁷ An anonymous reviewer mentions that if adverbs may adjoin to the edge of TP one would expect pre-VP adverbs to be able to occur sentence-initially, preceding indefinite subjects. This is excluded in matrix clauses where the verb moves to C. As for subordinate clauses, I am assuming that the TP-adjunction is only allowed in case the verb occupies T and the subject raises all the way to SpecAgrSP (note that also in the case of a regular VP-adjunction the subject never intervenes between the pre-VP adverb and the finite verb). It should also be emphasized that the idea is that this is an IP-internal adjunction, therefore a property of Split-IP languages, and the analysis makes no predictions about adjunctions of pre-VP adverbs to the left edge of the IP, either in Split-IP languages or simple-IP languages.

An interesting consequence of my analysis is that adverbs are, of course, no longer 'signposts' for the position of the verb: One must always consider the prosodic contour as well.

in T is already within the checking domain of the AgrSP because the TP (the maximal projection) bears all the features belonging to its head (T). This also means that the verb needs to move out of the VP in Icelandic in order to check its agreement features. In the Mainland Scandinavian languages, on the other hand, there are no agreement features and the verb checks its tense feature in-situ and cannot move to the IP, according to economic principles à la Chomsky (1995).

If the analysis in (26) is correct we would expect that it could be difficult in some cases to have indefinite subjects in embedded clauses with the SPV order (because they do not move above the TP). This could explain the different results in (27c) and (28c):

- (27) a. Það var Hrafnkels saga sem **hann hafði ekki** lesið
 ‘It was the saga of Hrafnkell that he had not read’
 b. Það var Hrafnkels saga sem **Haraldur hafði ekki** lesið
 ‘It was the saga of Hrafnkell that Haraldur had not read’
 c. Það var Hrafnkels saga sem **einhver hafði ekki** lesið
 ‘It was the saga of Hrafnkell that somebody had not read’
- (28) a. Það var Hrafnkels saga sem **hann ekki hafði** lesið
 ‘It was the saga of Hrafnkell that he not had read’
 b. Það var Hrafnkels saga sem **Haraldur ekki hafði** lesið
 ‘It was the saga of Hrafnkell that Haraldur not had read’
 c. *Það var Hrafnkels saga sem **einhver ekki hafði** lesið
 ‘It was the saga of Hrafnkell that somebody not had read’

In (27) we have the Icelandic word order and according to this hypothesis the negation is then adjoined to the VP. Therefore, both a definite and indefinite subject can

precede the adverb. In (28), on the other hand, the negation precedes the finite verb so it should be adjoined to the TP. It turns out that it matters whether the subject is definite as in (28a-b) or indefinite as in (28c), assuming that *einhver* ‘somebody’ has a completely indefinite meaning and is not interpreted as ‘some student’, for instance. This seems to support the hypothesis that the indefinite subject has to stay in the SpecTP in clauses of this type, excluding sentences like (28c) where the subject must be in the SpecAgrSP because it precedes the pre-VP adverb.¹⁸

In order to explain the contrast between embedded declaratives and relative clauses/embedded questions I suggest that the verb must raise to AgrS when AgrS must agree with the subject in its Spec. When SpecAgrS is occupied by a trace, verb movement is not forced. Nonspecific/indefinite subjects do not move to SpecAgrS, and non-presupposed subjects may not raise as easily for some speakers. This is still consistent with the above generalization: the verb must raise when the agreeing subject does.

1.3.4 Summary

According to common ideas about adjunction, a simple IP analysis of V3 (SPV) in embedded clauses in Icelandic offers only one solution: No verb movement. If the standard idea that verb movement is inflectionally driven is taken seriously, such an analysis is not appealing.

A complex IP has additional positions for NPs, a finite verb and adverb adjunctions. Assuming that Icelandic has a complex IP and the Mainland Scandinavian languages

¹⁸ *That*-insertion is impossible in examples like (27c):

* Það var Hrafnkels saga sem **það** **hafði** **einhver** **ekki** lesið
‘It was the saga of Hrafnkell that EXPL had somebody not read’

I will come back to this matter in the next section.

have a simple IP (cf. Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998 and Thráinsson 2001) one can say that the subject moves to Spec Agr and the pre-VP adverb adjoins to the left of TP, in front of the verb. This analysis predicts that the acceptability of SPV embedded clauses depends on the definiteness of the subject, and the prediction seems to be borne out. Another benefit of the analysis is that it assumes that the position of the adverb is marked. Marked word orders in Icelandic are often indicated by intonational emphasis, and SPV is no exception. In addition, this approach emphasizes the difference between the marked word order in Icelandic and the unmarked word order in the Mainland Scandinavian languages: In Icelandic, the verb always moves from the VP to the IP (at least to the TP); in the other languages it does not move out of the VP in embedded clauses.¹⁹ As the examples in section 1.2 indicated, the SPV order was better when the subject was an unstressed pronoun than when it was a proper name, for instance. The reason for this is semantic/pragmatic in my view. The adverb is an obligatory focus (thus usually stressed) and therefore the SPV will be most felicitous with a maximally destressed old information subject (in the sense of Kuno 1980) like a pronoun, or the prosodically least marked NP.²⁰

The reason why this word order phenomenon depends so heavily on the type of the embedded clause in question is that the verb must raise to AgrS when AgrS must agree

¹⁹ However, one has to assume verb movement to the CP in the Scandinavian languages in main clauses and embedded clauses that have matrix nature (CP-recursion), i.e. *that*-clauses that are complements of bridge verbs (cf. Iatridou and Kroch 1992 and Vikner 1995:70-71), and then the IP is presumably a landing site for the verb, according to standard ideas about the locality of head movement (see Holmberg and Platzack 1995:75, 82). This means that the verb moves to C in matrix clauses in Icelandic (therefore no SPV) and topic initial embedded clauses as well.

²⁰ Since the acceptability of the word order that I am dealing with here does not depend entirely on the use of clitic subjects and full NP subjects occur as well (at least in some V3-embedded clauses), I am not going to treat light pronouns separately. A clitic analysis would probably be viable, but the question of where the full NPs and the pre-VP adverbs are located in the structure would still remain.

The exact prosodic properties of the SPV is certainly an interesting topic but it is beyond the scope of this paper (see general discussion on sentence stress in Cinque 1993 and stress-shifting operations in Neeleman and Reinhart 1997:334-335 and 341-343). For an extensive discussion on the syntax of pronouns in the history of Swedish, relevant to this topic, see Falk (1993), and for the literature on clitic pronouns in Old English, see Pintzuk (1996) and references there.

with the subject in its Spec. When Spec-AgrS is occupied by a trace, there is no agreement and verb movement is not forced.²¹

²¹ Parasitic gaps (cf. Engdahl 1985 and Nissenbaum 1998) might also be of particular interest in connection with SPV. They are licensed by A-bar traces and they show a similar distribution to the most natural cases of SPV. Of course, there is a gap in the parasitic gap constructions, while in SPV what is licensed instead is “dislocation” of a particular kind of adverb. This issue falls outside the scope of this paper, so it is a matter for future research whether there is in fact a connection between the two. If so, it might lead to a rather different understanding of PGs (Molly Diesing, p.c.).

1.4 Concluding remarks

Finally, the following conclusions should be emphasized:

- (33)
- a. The V3 order that has been discussed here is possible in all types of embedded clauses in Icelandic. However, the naturalness of the order depends on the type of embedded clause involved.
 - b. The subject type plays an important role. It is easier to get the word order when the subject is a ‘light’ pronoun than when it is a proper name, for instance.
 - c. An analysis that assumes a split IP in Icelandic but not in the Mainland Scandinavian languages provides the possibility of describing this word order in Icelandic as an adjunction of a sentential adverb to TP instead of the usual adjunction to VP. This analysis indicates that the position of the adverb is marked in this type of V3 clause (which coincides with the fact that the adverb usually requires an extra stress) and it also makes the correct predictions in respect of the requirements of definite vs. indefinite subjects.
 - d. The verb must raise “all the way up” to AgrS when the agreeing subject does; otherwise, movement is not forced above T.

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CHAPTER 2

STYLISTIC FRONTING AS HEAD MOVEMENT

2.1 Introduction

The main goal of this paper is to shed light on the following problems:

- (1) a. What is Stylistic Fronting (henceforth SF), how is it related to other constructions and how can it be accounted for?
- b. Why do conditions for topicalization, V3 word order and SF depend on the type of the embedded clause? Which structural properties of embedded clauses give rise to these different conditions?
- c. Why – and to what extent – is Icelandic different from related languages in this respect?

SF has been discussed thoroughly in the syntactic literature, but it varies from paper to paper what kind of data is taken under consideration. Consequently, the results about the nature of SF and its structural properties vary substantially. The problems in (1b-c) are theoretical, because it is usually assumed that embedded clauses have the same structure in all languages and also that all embedded clauses within the same language have mostly the same characteristics.

The sentence types shown in (2-6) are particularly interesting in this respect and will be a central issue in the paper:

- (2) a. Þetta er mál sem ____ hefur verið rætt um
This is a matter that has been discussed about
- b. Þetta er mál sem **rætt** hefur verið ____ um
This is a matter that discussed has been about
'This is a matter that has been discussed'
- (3) a. Þetta er mál sem ____ hefur verið rætt um
This is a matter that has been discussed about
- b. *Þetta er mál sem **það** hefur verið rætt um
This is a matter that EXPL has been discussed about
'This is a matter that has been discussed'
- (4) a. ?Ég held að ____ hafi verið rætt um málið á fundinum
I think that has been discussed about the matter at the meeting
- b. Ég held að **það** hafi verið rætt um málið á fundinum
I think that EXPL has been discussed about the matter at the meeting
- (5) a. Það er ein Íslendingasaga sem ég ____ hef ekki lesið
There is one Icelandic saga that I have not read
- b. Það er ein Íslendingasaga sem ég **ekki** hef ____ lesið
There is one Icelandic saga that I not have read
'There is one Icelandic saga that I have not read'
- (6) a. Þeir sem hafa verið í Osló segja að...
Those that have been in Oslo say that
- b. Þeir sem **í Osló** hafa verið segja að...
Those that in Oslo have been say that

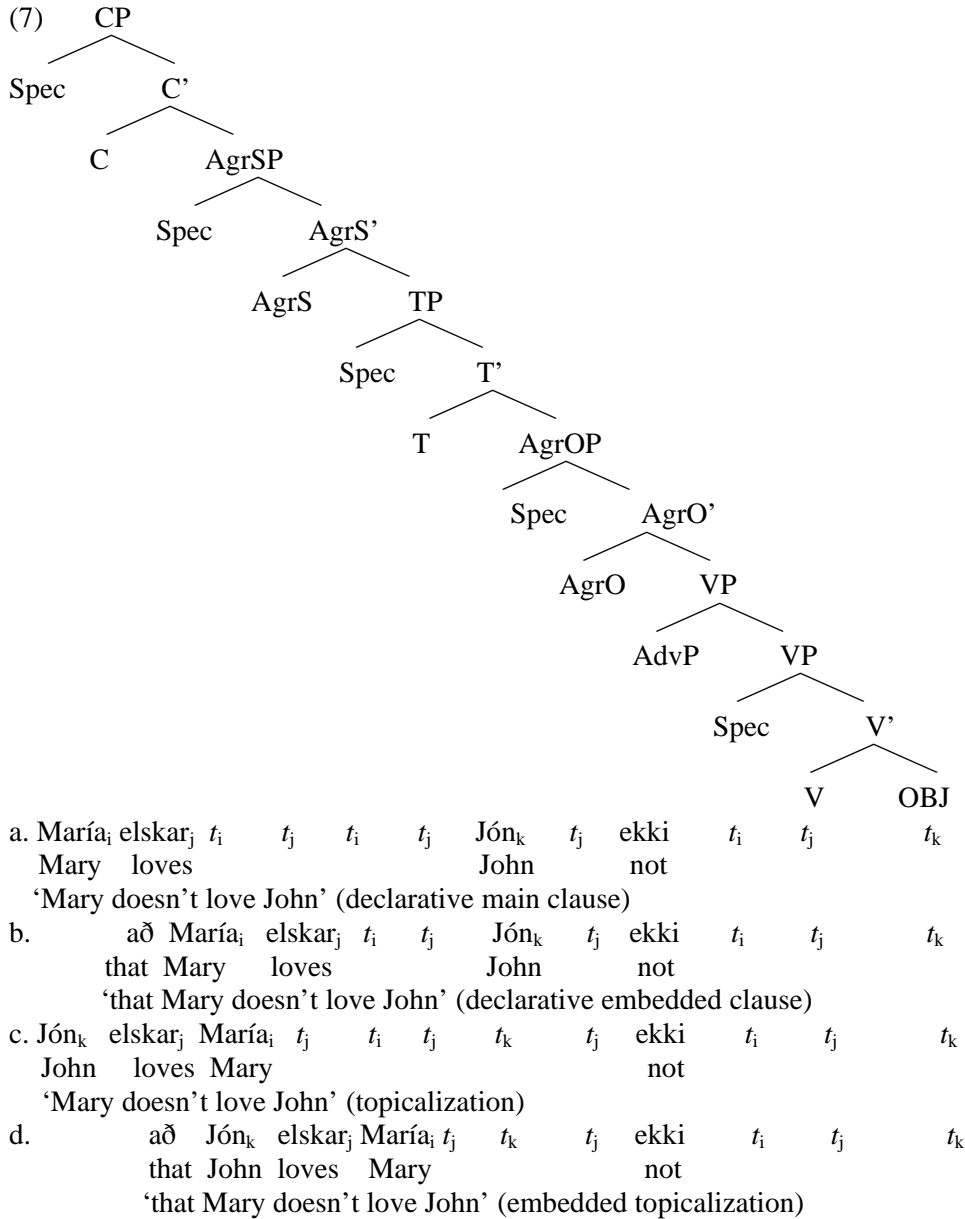
Sentence (2b) is a typical example of SF. A comparison of (2b) and (3b) shows that expletive insertion is not always an alternative to SF. Examples (3) and (4) show that some subject gaps must be left empty while others need to be filled. In (5b) there is an example of a SF-like sentence with an overt subject (V3) while (6b) features SF-like movement of an XP in an embedded clause with a subject gap.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2.2, I introduce the theoretical background and previous analyses and outline my proposal. In section 2.3, I give an overview of the relevant word order variation and how it can be accounted for according to my analysis. In section 2.4 I discuss locality conditions on SF and in section 2.5 I look at some remaining problems. Finally, I summarize the main conclusions in section 2.6.

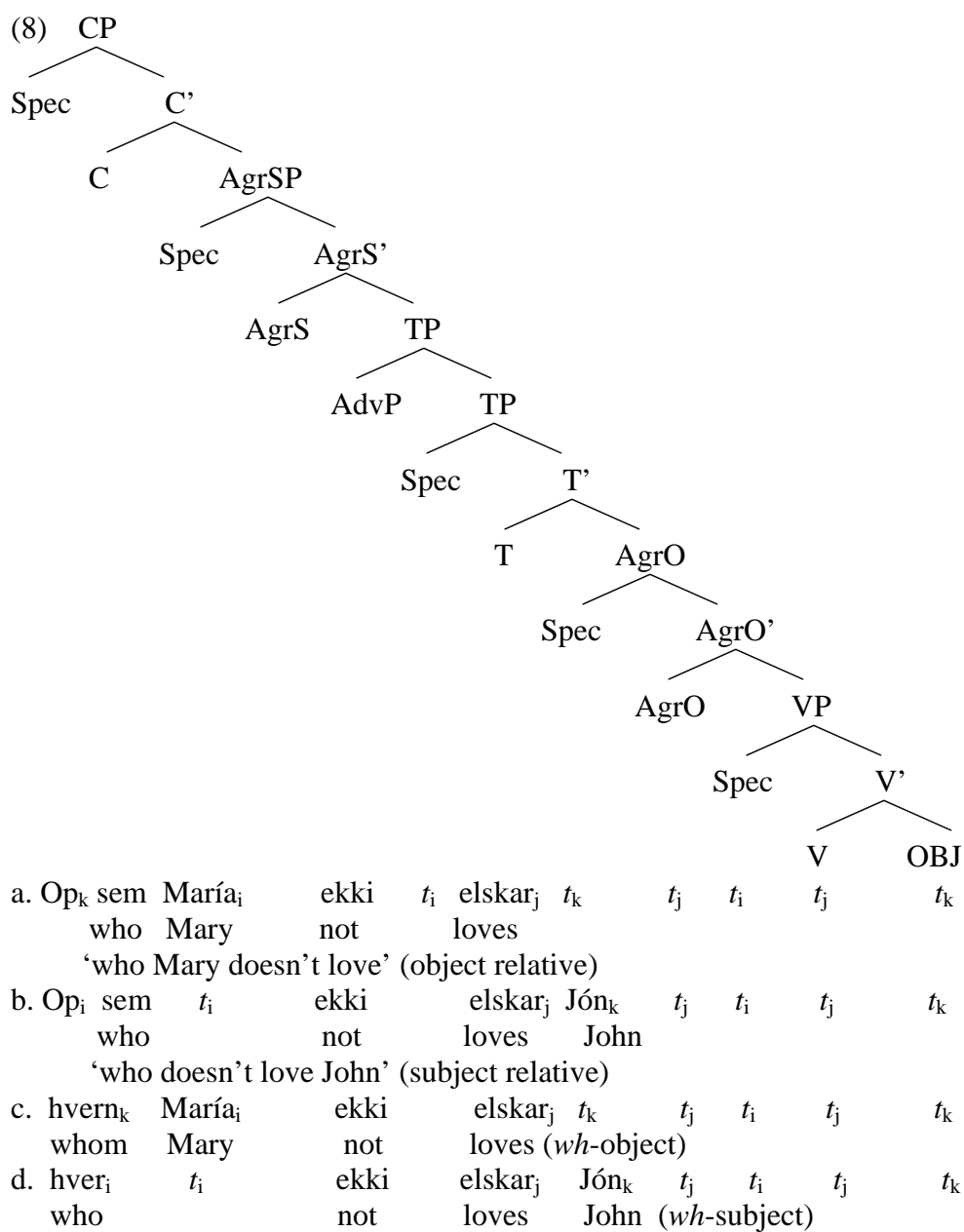
2.2 Background and proposal

2.2.1. Basic structures

For simple sentences in Icelandic I assume the structure in (7) - (7a-b) show matrix and embedded declarative sentences and (7c-d) show matrix and embedded topicalization sentences respectively:



For relative clauses (8a-b) and indirect questions with a *wh*-pronoun (8c-d) I am assuming the following structure, in case there is a fronted sentence adverb:



This means that the finite verb only needs to move to T in order to enter the checking domain of AgrS and check its agreement features (following Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998).

2.2.2 Previous analyses and my proposal

In (9-12) I summarize important observations in the literature so far about the sentence types in question and mention some of the remaining problems:

- (9) Even though topicalization in matrix clauses is applicable in Icelandic and other Scandinavian languages (and in English as well if the V2 claim is ignored) the languages seem different in the sense that topicalization can be more easily or widely accepted in Icelandic than the other languages (see Magnússon 1990 and Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990). Because of this it has been implied that embedded clauses in Icelandic are more “matrix-like” than embedded clauses in related languages (cf. Vikner 1995).
- (10) However, it is not the case that all embedded clauses are equal in Icelandic. The acceptability of topicalization and expletive insertion depends on the type of the embedded clause (cf. Magnússon 1990) and the same holds for the V3 word order (cf. Angantýsson 2007). Interestingly, the V3 order seems to be most acceptable in the types of embedded clauses where topicalization is least acceptable, that is relative clauses and indirect questions with a *wh*-pronoun, which needs an explanation.
- (11) Icelandic differs from the other Scandinavian languages with respect to topicalization and V2/V3 in embedded clauses. Icelandic is also different with respect to SF (although the SF in Faroese patterns like Icelandic). These differences merit an explanation as well.

- (12) It has been suggested that topicalization is a movement to an empty subject position in languages like Icelandic and Yiddish (cf. Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990 and Diesing 1990). Stylistic fronting has also been analyzed as such movement (cf. Maling 1980, Ottósson 1989, Platzack 1987, Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990 and Holmberg 2000) but it has also been analyzed as an IP-adjunction (cf. Jónsson 1991, Poole 1992/1996 and Thráinsson 1993) or as a focus movement (cf. Hrafnbjargarson 2004).

I adopt the standard idea that topicalized elements move to Spec-CP in matrix clauses in all the Scandinavian languages and I assume that topicalized elements move to Spec-AgrSP in embedded clauses in Icelandic.

The motivation for analyzing SF as a movement to an empty subject position (Spec-IP) is to explain the subject gap that SF requires. In such analyses the movement is triggered by some kind of an EPP-feature checking. The main problem for this theory is that it presupposes that heads can move to a specifier position, which is prohibited in standard versions of GB and MP. A possible way to avoid this problem is to assume that ‘heads’ moved by SF are in fact phrases that have been emptied of all material except for the head (remnant movement analysis along the lines of Müller 2004) but it is not obvious how to ensure that only the head (or whatever the moved element is) moves and not the other material. Holmberg (2000) assumes that what is moved under SF is “only the phonological feature matrix of a category”. According to his analysis the movement is triggered by the need to check a P(honological) feature on I. However, the fact that the apparent subject position sometimes needs to be filled but sometimes not makes this approach problematic in my view.

Hrafnbjargarson (2004) claims that SF moves both heads and XPs to FocP (Foc and Spec-Foc respectively) in a split CP-domain. The problem with this analysis is that

what is usually referred to as SF does not always have focus effects, especially not SF of elements that are clearly heads (see discussion in Thráinsson 2007). I will come back to the effects of different fronting processes and argue that the SF-like constructions that have focusing effects are in fact not SF.

The motivation for analyzing SF as an adjunction to I (or AgrS) is the prohibition of head movement to a specifier position. It also explains the absence of focus effects and it accounts neatly for the relation between verb movement and SF. An apparent problem with this analysis is that it neither accounts for SF-like movements of XPs nor the subject condition and there is no obvious trigger for SF. I will come back to these issues in section 2.5.

I treat clear instances of stylistically fronted heads along the lines of Jónsson (1991) and Thráinsson (1993). The apparent examples of stylistically fronted XPs are accounted for as topicalization (cf. Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990) and TP-adjunction (Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998 and Angantýsson 2007). The most important predictions of my analysis are shown in (14) and will be explored in the next sections:

- (14) a. In Icelandic, fronting and focusing should be easier in embedded clauses than main clauses because the finite verb moves all the way up to C in matrix clauses, and head adjunction in the case of V-to-C movement is prohibited by assumption.
- b. In Mainland Scandinavian, conditions for fronting and focusing should be similar in embedded clauses and main clauses.

2.3 Exploring the data

2.3.1 Topicalization

In (15-18) there are examples of a common type of topicalization in matrix clauses in Icelandic; the other Scandinavian languages behave similarly (from Thráinsson 2007:260-261):

- (15) a. Ég hef aldrei hitt Harald
I have never met Harold
- b. **Harald** hef ég aldrei hitt ____ (NP)
Harold have I never met
- (16) a. Haraldur hefur ekki búið á Akureyri.
Haraldur has not lived in Akureyri
- b. **Á Akureyri** hefur Haraldur ekki búið. (PP)
in Akureyri has Harold not lived
- c. **Ekki** hefur Haraldur __ búið á Akureyri. (adverb)
not has Harold lived in Akureyri
- (17) a. Strákarnir hafa tekið bækurnar upp.
boys-the have taken books-the up
- b. ***Upp** hafa strákarnir tekið bækurnar. (particle)
up have boys-the taken books-the
- (18) a. Strákarnir hafa lesið bækurnar.
boys-the have read(past part.) books-the
- b. **?*Lesið** hafa strákarnir bækurnar. (past participle)
read(pp.) have boys-the books-the

As was already mentioned, the standard view is that the topicalized elements occupy the Spec of CP and I adopt that idea here. What is interesting here is what cannot topicalize - particles and past participles. According to my analysis, this is because the heads in question would be in a specifier position (Spec-CP), which is prohibited.

Examples (19-20) show that embedded topicalization is more restricted in Danish than in Icelandic (Vikner 1995:72):

- (19) a. Jón hélt því fram að **þessum peningum** hefði María stolið (Icel.)
 b. Johan påstod at disse penge havde Maria stjålet (Dan.)
 ‘John claimed that this money had Mary stolen’
- (20) a. Jón harmar að **þessa bók** skuli ég hafa lesið (Icel.)
 b. *Johan beklager at denne bog har jeg læst (Dan.)
 ‘John regrets (that) this book have I read’

According to my analysis Spec-AgrSP is available for the topicalized element in (19a) and (20a), but in Danish, embedded topicalization depends on CP-recursion which occurs with bridge-verbs as in (19b) but not with non-bridge verbs as in (20b) (see Vikner 1995:65-67).

The sentences in (21) show that topicalization is nevertheless ungrammatical in some types of embedded clauses in Icelandic, that is, in relative clauses and embedded clauses with a *wh*-pronoun (cf. Magnússon 1990):

- (21) a. Þeir sögðu [að í **bæinn** hefði rútan komið klukkan sjö __] (*that*-clause)
 they said that to town-the had bus-the come clock seven
 ‘They said that the bus had come to town at seven o’clock.’

- b. *Þeir spurðu [hvern **í bæinn** hefði rútan flutt __ klukkan sjö]
(*wh*-pronoun)
they asked whom(A) to town-the had bus-the carried clock
seven
- c. *Þetta er strákurinn [sem **í bæinn** flutti rútan __ klukkan sjö]
(relative clause)
this is boy-the that to town-the carried bus-the clock seven

In (21b) the chain formation between *hvern* ‘who’ and the trace fails because the two are not in a minimal configuration, and the same holds true for the chain between the relativized element and the trace in (21c) (cf. Rizzi 2001).

The following examples are apparent counterexamples:

- (22) a. Þeir sem hafa verið í Osló segja að...
those that have been in Oslo say that
- b. Þeir sem **í Osló** hafa verið segja að...
those that in Oslo have been say that
(Holmberg 2000:449)
- (23) a. Þeir sem tóku erfiðustu ákvörðunina voru ekki
Those that made the most difficult decision were not...
- b. (?)Þeir sem **erfiðustu ákvörðunina** tóku __ voru ekki
Those that the most difficult decision made were not...
(based on Sigurðsson 1997)

Under my analysis, the SF-like element in (22b) is adjoined to the TP as a sentential PP, cf. the V3 case. This, of course, cannot be the case in the marginal (23b) since the

object needs to be assigned a theta-role. I suggest that the superlative simply gives the contrast needed to licence the topic in the context of the relativization.²²

To conclude this section: Topicalization is more generally accepted in Icelandic than in the other Scandinavian languages. However, the possibilities depend on the type of embedded clause in question in that the order does not work in a natural way in relative clauses and clauses with a *wh*-pronoun.

2.3.2 Stylistic fronting and expletive insertion

It is a standard assumption about SF, and actually a matter of definition, that it only occurs in sentences with subject gaps (see Maling 1980 and much later work). In (24) there are examples of SF in the Scandinavian languages. Only the Insular Scandinavian languages have this construction but it existed in the older Mainland Scandinavian languages as well (the examples in this subsection are from Holmberg 2000 and Thráinsson 2007):

- (24) a. en ... som **likir** var ___ enom hofman (older Swed.)
 one that alike was a courtier
 ‘one that looked like a courtier’
- b. ... som **sodhne** ärw ___ j lupinj (Swed., 16th century)
 that boiled are in lupin
 ‘... that are boiled in lupin.’

²² Another possibility would be that (23b) is an example of object shift (OS) with the object occupying Spec-AgrOP. If so, it should be impossible to employ an auxiliary, according to Holmberg’s Generalization:

- (i) ?Þeir sem höfðu **erfiðustu ákvörðunina** tekið ___ voru ekki öfundsverðir
 Those that had the most difficult decision made were not...

This is slightly worse than (23b) but there is not a strong contrast. Thus I assume that (23b) is simply a “forced” topicalization in a subject relative.

- c. *den, som **först** är ___ att göra mål (Swed.)
he who first is to score goal
- d. *Hvem tror du **stjålet** har ___ sykkelen? (No)
who think you stolen has bike-the
- e. Konan, sum **heim** fór ___ , var systir hansara. (Far.)
the woman that home went was sister his
- f. *Kvinden som **hjem** gik var hans søster (Dan.)
the woman that home went was sister his

Examples (25-27) show various types of fronted elements in a relative clause, including particles and past participles that did not undergo topicalization in matrix clauses as we saw in 3.1 (cf. Thráinsson 2006):

- (25) a. Þetta er mál sem ___ hefur verið rætt um
this is issue that has been discussed about
- b. Þetta er mál sem **rætt** hefur verið ___ um (past part.)
this is issue that discussed has been about
'This is an issue that has been discussed'
- (26) a. Þetta er mál sem ___ hefur komið upp.
this is issue that has come forth
'This is an issue that has come forth.'
- b. Þetta er mál sem **upp** hefur komið ___ . (particle)
this is issue that forth has come
- (27) a. Þetta er mál sem ___ hefur ekki verið rætt um.
this is issue that has not been discussed about

- b. Þetta er mál sem **ekki** hefur __ verið rætt um. (neg. adv.)
 this is issue that not has been discussed about
 ‘This is an issue that hasn’t been discussed.’
- (28) a. Þetta er bókin sem __ var gefin Jóni
 this is the book that was given John
- b. Þetta er bókin sem **gefin** var Jóni
 this is the book that given was John
 ‘This is the book that was given to John’

In (25b) and (26b), the SF-elements are adjoined to the verb in T according to my analysis. I am assuming that the negation in (27) is a maximal projection so it must be an adverbial adjunction to TP as in the case of V3 (the Spec-AgrSP is not available here according to my analysis).

It is intriguing that expletives cannot be inserted into relative clauses like (29) or into *that*-clauses with extracted *wh*-pronouns as in (30) but they can easily be inserted into *that*-clauses with postposed subjects as shown in (31):

- (29) a. *Þetta er mál sem **það** hefur verið rætt um.
 this is issue that there has been discussed about
- b. *Þetta er mál sem **það** hefur ekki verið rætt um.
 this is issue that there has not been discussed about
- c. *Þetta er mál sem **það** hefur komið upp.
 this is issue that there has come forth
- (30) a. Hver heldur þú [að __ hafi verið í eldhúsinu]?
 who think you that has been in kitchen-the

- b. Hver heldur þú [að **verið** hafi ___ í eldhúsinu]?
who think you that been has in kitchen-the
 - c. *Hver heldur þú [að **það** hafi verið í eldhúsinu]?
who think you that there has been in kitchen-the
- (31)
- a. (?)Hún heldur [að ___ hafi verið mýs í baðkerinu]
she thinks that have been mice in bathtub-the
 - b. Hún heldur [að **verið** hafi ___ mýs í baðkerinu] (past part.)
she thinks that been have mice in bathtub-the
 - c. Hún heldur [að **það** hafi verið mýs í baðkerinu] (overt expl.)
she thinks that there have been mice in bathtub-the

I am assuming that the expletive occupies the Spec of AgrP and also that in that case the verb must move all the way to Agr. According to my analysis (29) is ruled out because the Spec-AgrSP is occupied by a trace and (30c) is ungrammatical for the same reason (extraction must be from the highest subject position). In (31c) the subject is down in Spec TP so the expletive checks EPP on AgrS.

It was shown here that various types of elements can be fronted in embedded clauses with subject gaps in Icelandic, including elements that did not undergo topicalization in matrix clauses. It was also shown that *that*-insertion depends on the type of the embedded clause in question and the restrictions were similar to the conditions for topicalization in embedded clauses.

2.4 Locality issues

If SF is an instance of head movement, one would expect it to obey the Head Movement Constraint (HMC) which can be stated informally as follows (see Travis 1984:131 and Rizzi 2001):

- (32) A moved head cannot skip an intervening head between its base position and its landing site

Examples like the following seem to suggest that SF violates the HMC since the non-finite verb appears in front of the finite verb:

- (33) Þetta er mál sem **rætt** hefur verið ____ um á mörgum fundum
This is a matter that discussed has been about at many meetings

I am assuming that the non-finite verb “first” moves and adjoins to the finite verb in V and “then” moves along with it to the I domain. In this way it has not really skipped the head occupied by the finite verb but adjoined to it (cf. Thráinsson 1993:194).

Maling (1980) observed that if there is more than one potential candidate for SF in a clause, only the leftmost one in the following accessibility hierarchy can be stylistically fronted:

- (34) sentential adverb > predicative adjective > past participle/verbal particle.

This is illustrated in (35-37):

- (35) a. Þetta er glæpamaðurinn sem **ekki** hefur ____ verið dæmdur
 this is the criminal that not has been convicted
 b. *Þetta er glæpamaðurinn sem **dæmdur** hefur ekki verið ____
 this is the criminal that convicted has not been
 c. *Þetta er glæpamaðurinn sem **verið** hefur ekki ____ dæmdur
 this is the criminal that been has not convicted
 ‘This is the criminal that has not been convicted’
- (36) a. Þetta er glæpamaðurinn sem **dæmdur** hefur verið
 this is the criminal that convicted has been
 b. *Þetta er glæpamaðurinn sem **verið** hefur dæmdur
 this is the criminal that been has convicted
 ‘This is the criminal that has been convicted’
- (37) a. Fundurinn sem **fram** hafði farið í Osló var skemmtilegur
 the meeting that on had gone in Oslo was fun
 b. Fundurinn sem **farið** hafði fram í Osló var skemmtilegur
 the meeting that gone had on in Oslo was fun

In (35), only the negation can be fronted but not the other potential candidates for SF. Examples (36) show that in a sentence with a predicative adjective and a verbal participle, only the adjective can be stylistically fronted. The examples in (37) show that if both a past participle and a verbal particle occur in the same clause, it is optional which one is fronted.

The Minimal Link Condition, along with a definition of closeness, sheds light on this problem (see Chomsky 1995:355-356 and Holmberg 2000:462-466):

- (38) a. A feature F attracts the closest feature that can check F
 b. In a configuration [$\alpha \dots \beta \dots \gamma \dots$] where α c-commands β and γ , β is closer than γ to α , if β asymmetrically c-commands γ .

The negation is higher in the structure than any of the other candidates for SF, according to my analysis, hence the negation is “closer” to the SF destination. Along the lines of Holmberg (2000:463-464), I assume that the verb and the particle are sisters, equally close to the finite verb, and therefore either one can be fronted.

The case of the passive construction is perhaps not as straightforward. As Jónsson (1991:7) points out there is a difference between the applicability of passive *be* with respect to SF, as in (36), and the accessibility of the main verb *be* with respect to SF, as in (39):

- (39) a. Þeir sem **verið** hafa veikir þurfa að fara til læknis
 those who been have sick must see a doctor
 b. ??Þeir sem **veikir** hafa verið þurfa að fara til læknis
 those who sick have been must see a doctor

I suggest that the reason for the difference between passive *be*, as in (36), and main verb *be*, as in (39), is that the verbal participle in the passive is semantically vacuous and therefore excluded from SF, while the other verbal participle has more semantic content.²³ Under my analysis the preference of (39a) over (39b) is due to the MLC: The main verb *be* is higher in the structure than the predicate adjective.²⁴

²³ Consider the following examples:

- (ii) a. John was SICK

Importantly, the head movement account explains the “clause-boundedness condition” on SF (see Thráinsson 1993:193-194 and references there):

- (40) a. Þetta er stelpa sem sagði að þú hefðir stolið bókinni
 this is the girl that said that you had stolen the book
 b. *Þetta er stelpa sem **stolið**_i sagði að þú hefðir t_i bókinni
 this is the girl that stolen said that you had the book
- (41) a. Þetta er maðurinn sem spurði hvort ég hefði séð myndina
 this is the man that asked whether I had seen the film
 b. *Þetta er maðurinn sem **séð**_i spurði hvort ég hefði t_i myndina
 this is the man that seen asked whether I had the film

In (40b) and (41b) the non-finite verb has obviously skipped the head positions occupied by the finite verbs *hefðir* ‘had’ and *hefði* ‘had’.

Let us finally consider different conditions on head movement and XP movement across negation (based on examples from Thráinsson 2007:311):

- (42) a. að **það** hafði ekki komið fram í umræðunum að...
 that it had not come forth in the discussions that
 b. að **ekki** hafði ____ komið fram í umræðunum að...
 that not had come forth in the discussion that

-
- (iii) a. John WAS sick (= John had the experience of being sick)
 a. John was KILLED
 c. John WAS killed (the stress on *was* emphasizes the whole statement, not the verb per se)

²⁴ The predicative adjective *dæmdur* ‘convicted’ in the passive construction in (36) is supposedly higher in the structure (it must raise from the VP in order to check the passive feature) than the predicative adjective *veikur* ‘sick’ (which stays in the VP).

- c. ?*að **fram** hafði ekki komið ____ í umræðunum að...
 that forth had not come in the discussions that
- d. að í **umræðunum** hafði ekki komið fram ____ að...
 that in the discussions had not come forth that

This shows that the PP *í umræðunum* ‘in the discussion’ does not obey the same constraints as the particle *fram* ‘forth’, which suggests that stylistically fronted heads and SF-like maximal projections should be distinguished.²⁵

The conclusion here is that SF is most properly treated under a head movement approach but the semantic content of the SF candidate plays a role as well. An important question to ask is what triggers SF. This is part of a more general problem, namely optionality in syntax. At this point, my data does not offer any new solutions to that problem so I will ignore that here (see discussion in Collins 1997, Pesetsky and Torrego 2000 and Hiraiwa 2001). In the next section I will discuss some other remaining problems.

²⁵ Holmberg (2000:454) claims that a head movement approach to SF fails to account for examples like (iv) where a PP seems to obey the HMC:

(iv) Þeir sem í **Oslo** hafa (*ekki) búið segja að...

This is not a problem for my analysis because I am not assuming that the negation counts as a head. Under my approach there would be a ban on more than one sentential adverbial adjunction (in this case *í Oslo* ‘in Oslo’ would have to adjoin to the TP and *ekki* ‘not’ to the VP).

2.5 Remaining problems

According to Holmberg (2000), I has a nominal feature [D], which is checked by the verb if there is no subject in the sentence. There is also another feature [P], which can be checked by any phonologically visible category moved to or merged in Spec-IP. This idea could possibly be adjusted along the following lines in my analysis:

- (43) The feature [pre-V2] can be checked by any element moved to or merged in Spec-AgrSP (including antecedents of *wh*- and relative traces) or a head adjoined to AgrS.

The idea in (43) is that “something” must precede the finite verb: an overt subject, an expletive, a trace, or a fronted element. This means that in relative clauses and indirect questions with a *wh*-moved subject, the pre-V2-feature is already checked by the antecedent of the trace, so the SF element checks it redundantly.²⁶

According to (43), heads (SF) would be moved to do something that XPs normally do, namely to check a feature on the tensed verb in AgrS. One approach to this problem is that the SF-element actually undergoes spec-to-spec movement to the highest specifier under AgrS, then moves and adjoins to the tensed verb in AgrS. Importantly, the prohibition on head-to-spec movement only applies at the end of the

²⁶ Holmberg (2000:447) says that “...the effects of SF are visible at LF, in that SF creates a specifier position in overt syntax that is used by covert categories: in subject relatives and embedded clauses with a *wh*-moved subject SF creates a specifier position that is needed for movement of a covert *wh*-operator, and in impersonal sentences SF creates a specifier position for a covert topic” and (471) “...the claim is that there is a choice (in languages that have SF in relatives) between two strategies: either movement of an empty operator, or movement of an overt category. The optionality in subject relatives is thus accounted for. When the overt strategy is chosen, an overt DP subject (or overt *wh*-pronoun) is merged in VP and is attracted to [Spec, IP] to check [P] and [D] (the latter redundantly, if the finite also checks [D] in I)...before moving on to [Spec, CP]. When the empty operator strategy is selected, SF is triggered to check [P].” The problem here is that if the operator strategy is chosen, in Holmberg’s terms, SF does not necessarily take place (it is optional in relative clauses and indirect questions with a *wh*-moved subject).

derivation (or maybe PF). Thus Chomsky (1995, chapter 4) allows movement of [+min] categories to Spec, as long as they do not stay there. Then, the moved element might plausibly check an EPP feature, since it moves to Spec. However, this seems to be incompatible with my analysis, in particular my treatment of expletives and topicalization, so I leave this matter for future research.

There is also a problem with respect to the suggested connection between verb movement and SF, common for the head movement approach and Holmberg's account (in his analysis the verb must move to I in order to check the D-feature if there is no definite subject, whereas in my analysis the split IP domain creates the adjunction sites for SF). As Thráinsson et al. (2004) point out, relative clauses in Faroese seem to lack V-to-I movement but SF is nevertheless most natural and frequent in those clauses. One possibility is that Faroese has two types of apparent SF in relative clauses: An Icelandic type where the verb has moved into some position in the split IP-domain, and a Mainland Scandinavian type where the verb immediately follows a SF-like element (most commonly a sentential adverb) but stays in situ. Examples of the first type might be interpreted as lack of V-to-I movement. However, this needs much further investigation.

Finally, there are two issues that Holmberg (2000) considers problematic for a head movement approach to SF, and I have not addressed them so far:

- (44) SF-elements are not clitic-like and therefore they cannot be adjoined to the finite verb (clitics are usually prosodically defective and they are usually found in some form of second position).
- (45) Why is there no SF adjunction in the case of V-to-C movement?

Regarding (44) I suggest that SF-elements are not clitics and that the fact that they are adjoined to another head (the finite verb) does not entail that they must be clitics. If anything, the finite verb would rather be a clitic, at least in case there is an auxiliary in the second position. The problem in (45) is common to both analyses, in my view, because, ultimately, it has to be assumed in both analyses that there is something special about the IP and its feature properties, regardless of its inner structure.

The conclusion here is that SF has certain “V2 phono-syntactic” properties but it is not clear how exactly to account for the feature checking mechanisms in question. From an empirical point of view, a logical next step is to look at Faroese data.

2.6 Main conclusions

The goal of this paper was to shed light on the problems in (1), repeated here for convenience:

- (47)
- a. What is Stylistic Fronting (henceforth SF), how is it related to other constructions and how can it be accounted for?
 - b. Why do conditions for topicalization, V3 word order and SF depend on the type of the embedded clause? Which structural properties of embedded clauses give rise to these different conditions?
 - c. Why – and to what extent – is Icelandic different from related languages in this respect?

The main results can be summarized as follows:

- (48)
- a. SF is a case of head movement and it has no semantic effects. It should be clearly distinguished from fronting of maximal projections, which usually has foregrounding or focus effects.
 - b. Spec-AgrSP is available for topicalized elements in most types of embedded clauses in Icelandic but in some clauses it is occupied by an trace which makes topicalization difficult or impossible.
 - c. SF-like adjunction of adverbial phrases to TP is possible in relative clauses and indirect questions with a *wh*-pronoun, both in sentences with an overt subject (V3) and (more naturally) in sentences with a subject gap (V2).
 - d. SF is possible in all types of embedded clauses, but it is most frequent in relative clauses and indirect questions with a *wh*-pronoun. In my

view, this is because expletive insertion is disallowed in those clauses (due to the trace in Spec-AgrSP), and V1 results as the surface order if no fronting takes place. However, the verb can appear as the first element in those clauses (again, due to the trace in Spec-AgrSP).

- e. SF depends on V-to-I movement and it is presumably a property of symmetrical V2 languages. Therefore, Icelandic has it, and Faroese to some extent, but the Mainland Scandinavian languages and English do not have it. Faroese seems to provide a very interesting testing ground for the relation between SF and verb movement but the data remains to be investigated further.

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